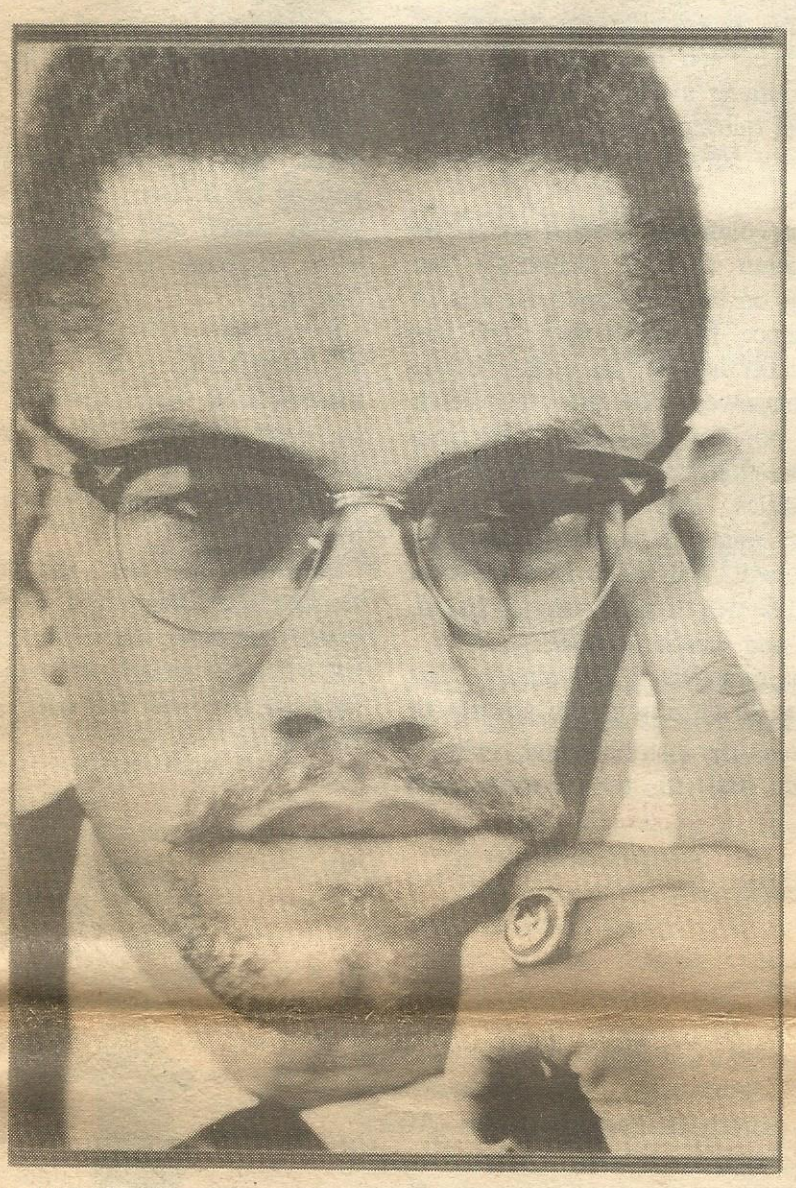
A National/International Political organ fighting for the oppressed Black Masses from the Americas to Africa

ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power which places all authority, wealth and arms in the hands of the People"

A Publication of the December 12th Movement | January '91 Volume 1, No.1 | 50¢



Malcolm X On Human Rights and Self-Determination

We must change the thinking of the Afro-American by liberating our minds through the study of philosophies and psychologies, cultures and languages that did not come from our racist oppressors.

America is The Black Man's Battleground... Malcolm X

Malcolm X's life and philosophical viewpoint characterize the cutting edge of Black people's fight to be self-determining. Malcolm challenged the Black Nation more than anyone else to break the white man's chains, to think and act for oneself.

As Bush, the Fuhrer of the 90's, sends America's shock troops goose stepping into the Persian Gulf, with so many sons and daughters of the Black Nation keeping step, it is important to remember Malcolm chastising Black people's willingness to shed blood for the white man in Europe, Korea, and Vietnam, but when Black babies are bombed to death by white racists in a church in Birmingham, Alabama, we don't have any blood to shed. So off we go to the Persian Gulf with the bodies of Yusuf Hawkins, Eleanor Bumpurs, and Michael Griffith, killed by white racists daring us to step over them...

The Impact of Malcolm X on World Revolution In the 20th Century

By Muhammad Ahmed

As we approach the commemoration of the 26th year after Malcolm X's (El Hajj Malik El Shabbaz) assassination, it is important that we begin to understand some of the theoretical underpinnings of Malcolm's thinking. Just what was Malcolm attempting to do and where was he headed? Did Malcolm have a plan and a program? Did Malcolm train successors (cadres)?

Malcolm on the Internationalization of the African-American Struggle: First, what was the main objective of Malcolm? The main objective was to internationalize the African-American struggle for human rights, national liberation and self-determination, and to get world-wide support. Malcolm wanted to isolate U.S. imperialism, bring the United States government before the United Nations to indict it for "violation" of the human rights charter, and to find the U.S. guilty before the world court of the crime of genocide.

In this sense, the OAAU (Organization of Afro-American Unity) was to serve like the committee of correspondence of the American revolution of 1776 did which won support for the 13 colonies. The OAAU was to serve as the broad African-American National Liberation Front that would set up offices in every country, giving Afro-Americans in exile an organizational vehicle and a political purpose. It would also organize a broad united people's front against U.S. racism and imperialism.

In order to do this, Malcolm had to transform African-Americans' perspective.

By the time of his untimely death, Malcolm X had moved from Black nationalism to internationalism, and had completely identified himself as well as the Afro-American struggle with the revolution of the "wretched of the earth" - the exploited people of the third world. He had become a foe of the international capitalist system and a staunch Pan-Africanist.

This internationalization was not in isolation of a national and regional strategy. Malcolm's main theoretical problem was how to transform the civil rights movement into a progressive scientific movement to secure national democratic human rights through mass action, guiding this forward motion toward a socialist revolution. While Malcolm had a rough outline for liberation, like others at the time, he had not worked this out in detail by the time of his death.

Malcolm felt it would take the

Continued on page 2

Muammar Al-Qathafi
Anti-Imperialist World Leader
African Peoples Brother Worldwide

On Consolidating Revolutionary Unity...Page 2

Muammar Al-Quathafi Addresses International Gathering of Revolutionary and Progressive Forces:

Consolidating Revolutionary unity and firmly establishing the principle of collective struggle to combat imperialistic zionist, reactionary and fascist terrorism

The imperialist threat is a serious menace to the small peoples. Brothers, we say before this international gathering that has brought together active forces from all the continents and who, being conscious of this danger, have put together their efforts in this international front, we are thus saying that this danger we are exposed to from all against us by imperialism and its valets; all this imposes on us, if we want to defend our lives and our existence under the sun, the necessity to create this international front at the world level, to enable us to face this danger.

Imperialism and its allies represent a common enemy for all those who are fighting for liberty.

Brothers, it is our duty to transform our action into an effective world force fighting against dangers of imperialism.

The Revolution

A revolution can't be a political conspiracy nor a military coup that brings a new dictatorial organ or government to replace and crush another.

It is the radical changing process in the political, economic and social structure of the human society. It destroys and crushes the decomposed society and builds the new society of revolution.

The revolutionary change is a comprehensive, radical and qualitative change in the sense of invigorating a new civilization and presenting a new integral and objective example to humanity - neither the tyrannical nor scribbled as a solution. In accordance with that, the revolution in the future cannot but be a radical massive popular revolution producing naturally a popular structure that fits in the era in the image of a popular mass society with the absence of authoritative government and of exploitation. Where unjust relations fade away; where people exist under the same equal objective and legal conditions.

This is a summation of the process of revolutionary organization for reaching the pursued objective.

The struggle for power

Democracy is defined as the rule of the people, by the people - that is people's power.

Freedom has no meaning if acts of sovereignty and decision making authorities are exclusive to an individual or group. In addition, problems concerning the organs of government and the struggle for power will continue to exist as long as the political question in its totality is not popularly solved to realize people's power.

So impediments that stand against the application of real democracy are mainly, on the one hand, the loss of confidence in the masses, and the conviction that they are unable to rule by themselves. On the other hand, direct popular democracy takes into consideration the whole being and his capabilities, and necessitates as a primary condition that man has to have a free will, and to be as such, man should be free of all forms of political, social and economic oppression.

This demands a revolution that equates all citizens in the practice of power, in the distribution of society's wealth, and in the exercise and manifestation of sovereignty.

People who are deprived of their right to rule, will march into the struggle generation after generation, complying normally to existing situations formed by an organ of government's seizure of power. They will march towards power and liberty in a perpetual and persistent manner, since all the aspects of economic, social and political struggles are nothing but a direct expression of this march which will never end except when the people take in power, wealth and arms.

Revolutions, coup d'etats, acts of disobedience, all forms of insurrections, demonstrations, sit ins, factional attempts and all kinds of rejection, are incomplete expressions of attempts to seize power by the popular masses.

Peoples' era will impose itself through the struggle of the popular masses all over the world, that will inflame more strongly everyday people although in a way that does not seem clear to us.

The Impact of Malcolm X on World Revolution In the 20th Century (continued)

By Muhammad Ahmed

the democratic forces of the world to help African-Americans achieve self-determination for their struggle, to be successful against U.S. imperialism. Malcolm was a staunch anti-imperialist, and he made important statements against U.S. foreign policy.

He condemned U.S. counter-revolutionary murder, bombing, killing and maiming of African women and children in the Congo while U.S. mercenaries crushed the people's revolution of the Congo. At his mass rallies, he would announce and encourage people to attend demonstrations concerning the Congo, then taking place in New York City.

Malcolm also denounced the initial U.S. invasion of Vietnam and was the first African-American leader to condemn the Vietnam War. Unity with Africa in particular, and the Third World in general; developing a spiritual, cultural and philosophical return to Africa was a central part of Malcolm's theme.

Human Rights, Genocide and the United Nations: Malcolm broadened the Civil Rights movement when he said the African-American struggle was a movement for securing human rights. In essence, Malcolm knew he was aligning the Black liberation movement with broad active support of the majority of anti-imperialist democratic forces of the world. By raising the slogan of "By Any Means Necessary", Malcolm couldn't be accused of not advocating non-violence in peaceful confrontations nor logically speaking, could he be accused of advocating violence when a situation required self-defense.

Because of his precarious position of constantly being threatened with assassination, Malcolm could not adequately build a cadre organization or a local base and advance the national character of the Black liberation movement at the same time.

While he was building his organization, he was preoccupied with the internationalization of the Black liberation movement. Through the organization of Afro-American Unity, Malcolm appealed to the African heads of state to bring the United States government before the United Nations to charge it with the crime of genocide in violation of the U.N. Human Rights Charter. The State Department became alarmed over Malcolm's efforts because such an indictment would expose the true nature of U.S. imperialism.

This racist element within the State Department realizes that if any intelligent, truly militant Afro-American is ever permitted to come before the United Nations to testify in behalf of the 22 million mistreated Afro-Americans, our dark-skinned brothers and sisters in Africa, Asia and Latin America would then see America as a "brute beast," even more cruel and vulturous than the colonial powers of Europe and South Africa combined.

ARM THE MASSES

What we believe:

Revolutionary nationalism and socialism for the Black Nation, fifty million Africans captured inside the racist, capitalist U.S.A. The Black Nation is constituted by a distinct history and psychology shaped by racial and national oppression of its people and their resistance to that oppression; a historically-developed land-base concentrated in the southern U.S.A.; a common language shaped with its own cultural idiom; a common economic way of life, underdeveloped due to racism. Africans are mainly wage-slaves to capitalism who will never control the means of production, but all are subject to racist exploitation across class lines. The struggle of Africans inside the U.S.A. is a human rights struggle for self-determination, national liberation and the freedom to control African people's destiny free of Racism, Capitalism, and Imperialism.

FREEDOM OR DEATH!

All correspondence:
ATM-28 Vesey Street, Suite 2298, N.Y., N.Y. 10007, USA

Cuba Speaks Out on the Persian Gulf Crisis

A message from Fidel Castro Ruz to Arab Heads of State - *August 7, 1990*

Your Excellency:

I am writing to you because I am deeply concerned about the events that are now threatening the Arab world and humanity.

I firmly believe that at this crucial time it is still possible for the leaders of the Arab nation to prevent the conflict that broke out between Iraq and Kuwait from leading to an adverse situation for the independence of many Arab states, to an economic catastrophe, and to a holocaust affecting a large portion of their peoples. Such is the threat, as we see it, caused by the growing and accelerated preparations for a direct military intervention by the United States and its allies. No less alarming is the interventionist purpose, of a multinational force whose composition reveals a new relationship of forces on a world scale against the interests of the Arab peoples.

In its current capacity as nonpermanent member of the Security Council, Cuba did not hesitate to cast its vote in favor of Resolution 660, adopted by the Council August 2. Not without pain and bitterness did we take that necessary and just step in line with our principled policy concerning the inadmissibility of resorting to force and military superiority to solve differences among countries, more so when what is involved here is a fratricidal confrontation between Third World peoples. With both Iraq and Kuwait we maintain bonds of respect and friendship, nurtured by the solidarity of Cuba with the Arab nation and the Palestinian people in the face of Israeli aggression and colonial expansion. Additionally, our historical cooperation in several fields with a number of Arab countries is well known.

These principles, as you no doubt understand, are very dear to Cuba, which is permanently threatened with aggression. At the same time, it is to our conviction that if there is one thing we should do now, it is to refrain from adding fuel to the fire of war. And it is this conviction that determined our recent abstention in the case of a new Security Council draft resolution sponsored and zealously promoted by the United States [Resolution 661]. They want to impose, among other measures, a total economic embargo on Iraq--a step that in our opinion lessens the possibility of finding a peaceful solution. The United States and its closest allies are congratulating themselves on this new resolution, which creates ideal conditions for an escalation of the conflict and for the probable use of the most powerful war machinery on the planet. The unmistakable aim is to entrench their domination in the region.

To punish Iraq for its regrettable and unacceptable action in Kuwait is just a pretext for the United States. They are looking for an opening to invoke Article 42 of the UN Charter to legitimize armed intervention in the name of the international community. This is the disaster we now face. And there is no one it can be more offensive to than the leaders of the Arab nation. For it is the same Security Council, acting unanimously with the exception of Yemen and Cuba, that by virtue of the U.S. veto proved incapable of condemning, much less establishing sanctions against Israel, for its forty-year occupation of Palestine and other Arab states. Thanks also to this anachronistic, unfair and undemocratic veto privilege and its immoral use by the United States, it has not been possible for the Security Council to condemn Israeli genocide against the heroic *intifada*, or the actions of the Zionist army that have caused the death of members of the UN forces themselves in Lebanon.

It would be naive and, above all, extremely dangerous to give even a minimum of credibility to the motivations of the United States claims for playing a leading role in the crisis. With its customary experience in manipulating things, the varied and repeated use of pressure, the military capacity for rapid deployment, and its proven vocation for political opportunism, the US media, diplomatic corps, and Pentagon have joined with their Western counterparts to take advantage of the just indignation that Iraq's action against Kuwait instilled in the international community. They are question, disqualifying, and blocking any alternative for a negotiated political solution that is not subordinated to their geopolitical interests, and are wasting no time in deriving as much advantage as they can from the current situation.

What won't the United States be capable of doing in a vital region such as this one unless they are stopped in time? On other occasions they showed no scruples and slapped the face of the international community by converting a tiny state like Grenada, and a country they had already practically occupied like Panama, into a shooting range for their most sophisticated weapons.

How can anyone fail to see the danger of the United States launching an air raid against the home of the Libyan president after assuming, without its current backing, the role of international executioner? Can any other conclusions be drawn in view of the landing of U.S. Marines in Liberia just a few hours ago?

I am writing to you and to other Arab heads of state at this time in the name of the responsibility we all share as members of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries and of the Third World. In Cuba we have confronted mortal dangers, including the threat of nuclear extermination in October 1962. We are quite well qualified to observe, anticipate, and calmly assess the most dramatic of circumstances. Neither fear nor alarmism is involved here.

It so happens, in this case, that the threat extends to all Third World people without exception, and to the most sensitive aspects of our economies, our security, and our independence.

The forces of regression and plunder will not be deterred by the consequences of a military intervention if, as the United States hopes, Arabs and Muslims are divided among themselves and bleeding each other dry. The resulting wounds would be so deep that they would require decades to heal. This war would cause widespread destruction in the infrastructure and economies of the Arab countries. They would be turned into the battleground for a war that would not be waged in Europe or the United States, but rather in the Arab-Persian Gulf.

This, in turn, would create an economic catastrophe for the entire Third World, whose interests ought, in all fairness, to be taken into account at this time. It would be hard to imagine the extent of hardship and exhaustion this would create for the already battered underdeveloped countries. Oil prices would spiral out of reach for most of these countries, which are already devoid of fuel reserves or the resources to obtain them.

It is impossible to overlook, Your Excellency, the tragic irony involved if the United States and its allies in this inglorious crusade fulfill their goals -- among them the consolidation of Zionist domination -- with a minimum loss of life for the West. Their plans, all worked out and tested over time, call for high-technology warfare, based on the supremacy of their weapons and know-how. The casualties will be mostly by Arab armies and the population involved in the operation.

Let me share with you, Your Excellency, the certainty that inspires me of the wisdom and courage of the leaders of the Arab nation, and the vitality of its institutions.

Nothing and no one can replace this strength, this authority, and this moral in the immediate search for a negotiated solution to a conflict between two Arab peoples. Such a solution would, of course, include the withdrawal of Iraqi troops and the full restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty, without catastrophic war, immolation of peoples, and vast material destruction. In the same manner, I believe that the Movement of Nonaligned Countries and the United Nations system, with all its flaws and limitations, can buttress the united will of the Arab nation and help it to prevail against intervention and aggression.

The seriousness and dangers of the present situation demand rapid and effective actions by the most prestigious and outstanding leaders of the Arab world. The experience of history more than attests to how dominant powers like the United States are accustomed to imposing accomplished facts and unleashing processes difficult to reverse.

With all due respect and consideration, I exhort you to act with the speed that the risks involved demand and within the shortest time possible, overlooking the differences that must now necessarily occupy a second place. I regard this unity of opinion and action as an urgent necessity.

Do not doubt even for a second that in this just and noble endeavor you can count on the support of the overwhelming majority of the international community and, naturally, on the modest cooperation of Cuba.

Fraternally,
Fidel Castro Ruz
President of the Council of State and of the government of the Republic of Cuba

Human Rights Violations

U.S. JAILS HOUSE SCORES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS/POW's

Tribunal Rules that Political Prisoners Exist in the US

December 7th - 10th, 1990, at Hunter College in New York City a coalition of 88 sponsoring and endorsing groups convened a "Special Tribunal on Violations of Human Rights of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in United States Prisons and Jails."

The call for this tribunal was launched December 11, 1988, at a press conference announcing the formation of Freedom Now! one of the sponsoring organizations. Dr. Luis Nieves Falcon, a Puerto Rican poet, lawyer and longtime activist for Puerto Rican independence coordinated this campaign to organize the tribunal. Through forums, press conferences, video presentations and a literary reading featuring diverse artists, the issue of political prisoners existence was introduced to a growing number of people.

The goal of the Tribunal was to prove using international standards that the US had political prisoners and prisoners of war and that it violated their human rights. As the Tribunal members stated, "[we] assumed jurisdiction pursuant to accepted principles of international law approved and adopted by the world community under the United Nations Charter, in accordance with the precedents of the Nuremberg and Tokyo Tribunals and following procedures approved by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (Resolution 1503 {XLVIII})"

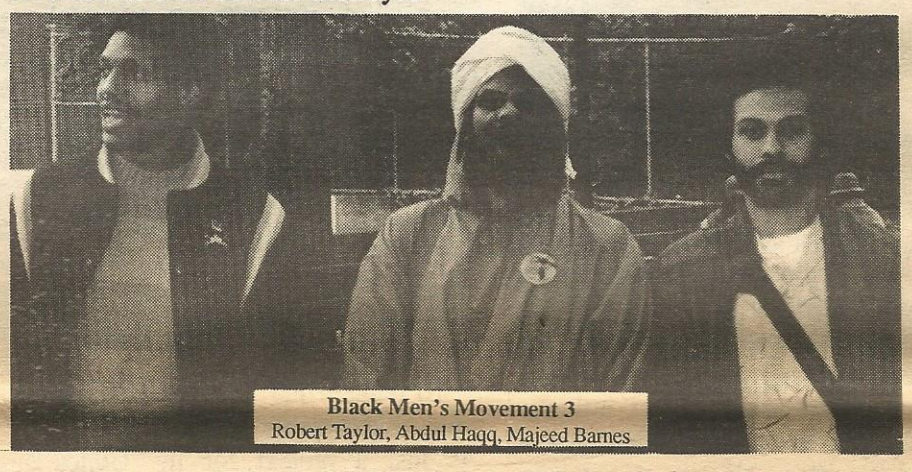
For three days the international panel of judges heard testimony on the many violations of human rights by the United States Government in a variety of areas; following are excerpts from the verdict they reached:

"The U.S. government vociferously denies the existence of political prisoners at home and resolutely echoes a familiar refrain that those who claim to be political prisoners and prisoners of war are simply terrorists and criminals. The Tribunal presents a unique and important opportunity to review carefully Petitioners' contention that the U.S. does indeed hold political prisoners and Prisoners of War....Numerous supporting documents... were also submitted. Of particular interest were documents of the Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) showing its program to disrupt and neutralize leaders and organizations of African-American, Puerto Rican, Mexicano-Chicano and Native American self-determination struggles.

The Tribunal finds that the U.S. judicial system (state and federal) has been used in a harsh and discriminatory manner against people struggling for self-determination within its borders and Puerto Rico, as well as against other political opponents of the U.S. government. Some have been falsely accused and had evidence favorable to their defense destroyed or suppressed, others have been tried on overbroad conspiracy charges which rely on associations and beliefs as an essential element, and many have been tried in an armed camp atmosphere saturated with prejudicial publicity designed to intimidate and prejudice the juries before whom they were tried....

We also find that the Black and Mexican people living within the borders of the United States, and Native American and Puerto Rican people have the fundamental right to exercise self-determination and to seek and receive support from other opponents of repression, and that the U.S. government has carried out a consistent pattern and policy of repression against these peoples, their leaders and supporters...."

These findings under international law will of course be ignored by the U.S. government, just as it has ignored other judgements against it in the international arena. As it proceeds to wage war on the Iraqi people under the banner of upholding internationl law, the U.S. continues to be a prime violator of international standards.



Black Men's Movement 3
Robert Taylor, Abdul Haqq, Majeed Barnes

THERE ARE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE U.S.A.

Free the Brothers!

The Bust

On July 16th, 1987, three members of the Black Men's Movement Against Crack were arrested by State Troopers in Orange County, New York. Although allegedly stopped for speeding, these three men soon found themselves charged with weapons possession, attempted escape and assault charges. In leaving New York City and heading upstate, Robert Taylor, Arthur Majeed Barnes and Abdul Haqq may have changed arenas but the same game plan of U.S. Government disruption, neutralization and set-up of Black political activists was still being carried out.

Following are a statement made by Robert Taylor at his federal parole violation hearing.

ROBERT TAYLOR STATEMENT TO JUDGE ROBERT CARTER DECEMBER 17, 1990

Judge Carter:

At the hearing last week you indicated that for you the most important issue was the fact that I had violated a trust which had been established when you sentenced us to no jail time for our 1985 convictions. At that time I did not respond but take the opportunity to do so now. I speak to you directly because I agree that the key issue is not a legal one, but one that speaks to my political and personal integrity. So for the record I would like to state right now that, in spite of the Orange County conviction, I did not violate probation nor any trust implicit in your sentencing. And while I use the term "I" for purposes of this hearing, I am really speaking of a collective "we," that being my comrades and co-defendants of "The New York 8."

Government's Criminal Conspiracy to Suppress Political Dissent

When we came before you in 1984, our position was that the only criminal conspiracy was that of the U.S. government to quash political dissent. We were the targets because we refused to stop fighting for our people. I am here today because that conspiracy continues. Despite your 1985 warning to the FBI to stop its surveillance and harassment of us, they continued.

This was accomplished simply by shifting the responsibility to the New York City Police Department. According to news reports a "Black Desk" was set up inside the NYPD Intelligence Division shortly after our 1985 trial to monitor our activities. And during that period we were very active. We helped found The Black Men's Movement Against Crack. We organized a Black Power Conference. We were in the leadership of The Citywide Coalition formed to protest the racist murder of Michael Griffith in Howard Beach and a number of police killings of unarmed civilians. We were organizing around housing in Crown Heights.

Black Men's Movement Against Crack

The work we did around crack brought increased police surveillance. We exposed the collusion between crack dealers and the cops of the 77th Precinct in Brooklyn. A number of these cops were later tried and convicted on criminal charges. The police harassment extended now to the entire Black Men's Movement, not simply the New York 8. Hundreds of uniformed police, numbers of undercover operatives, video and still surveillance accompanied all our meetings, demonstrations, etc. When we led the community to close down crack houses, we had crack dealers call the police who would then try to arrest us!

So the Newsday revelations did not surprise us. What was unexpected was the Police Commissioner's statement that there was an on-going "criminal investigation" of the New York 8. Apparently they hoped that this admission would satisfy the community's concern about this illegal surveillance. But it also meant that they had to create some criminal activity to justify this investigation. For had there been any criminal activity, the police could have gone to the Federal Probation Department and had us removed from the streets. There was none.

That is why we hand-delivered to you the letter dated July 15th, apprising you of the "Black Desk," the Police Commissioner's statement and our concern that we were being set up for a probation violation. In that letter we also asked you to intervene to have this illegal surveillance and harassment stopped. The very next day I was arrested in Orange County.

On Being Set Up

At last Monday's hearing you noted that I was the only one of my co-defendants who had not successfully completed probation. Your logic seemed to be that since no one else had violated, there must not have been any set ups. And therefore I must have done those things I was charged with.

The police tried a number of times to set us up. For example, a few hours after I was arrested in Orange County, a group of my comrades came to see how we were. While waiting for our lawyer to arrive they were surrounded by armed state troopers and ordered out of the van. Coltrane Chimurenga, who was sitting in the driver's seat of this "parked" van, was arrested for "driving" without a valid driver's license, and operating a vehicle whose registration had expired. Our lawyer was told that he would be arraigned at the local courthouse. While the lawyer went there, Chimurenga was arraigned, without any lawyer, at midnight in a back alley and held on $1000 bail. The van was confiscated.

The next morning my comrades

Continued page 11

Culture as a Weapon

Blackwatch Takes political music to a new realm

BY ADDON T'KALLA

They have come! A Movement has stepped out of the shadows of Brooklyn to knock out the myths of Euro-superiority. With words, actions, and hard core rhythms, BlackWatch challenged brothers and sisters around the world to redefine themselves. After the challenge is the dare: to meet them at the crossroads.

With X-Clan, Isis, YZ and other artists, BlackWatch has unleashed a formidable arsenal of cultural weapons. X-Clan's debut album "To The East BlackWards," hit the streets of London and New York City with a bang. X-Clan's funk rhythms hit the backbone, crawl up the spine and with a "key" unlock the brain for knowledge.

Like Public Enemy, BlackWatch realized you can't teach the brain if you can't move the body. According to Rhythm Provider Sugar Shaft of X-Clan, "We use certain bits of music from the past...I listened to Stevie Wonder, Funkadelic, a little jazz, Aretha Franklin, Sam Cooke, James Brown."

"To The East Blackwards" brings back George Clinton, Parliament and Frank Zappa in samples; when mixed with Sugar Shaft's this establishes 1990's B-Funk Black Funk!

Yet it's not all about the music; it's about the movement -- the movement to liberate the Black nation.

"We are strugglers who participate in the movement 24 hours a day. BlackWatch is about the united nations of all Black people," says BlackWatch visionary Paradise.

These words are supported with actions in the streets. When 10,000 Black youth stormed the Brooklyn Bridge on August 31, 1989, in rage over the lynching of 16-year-old African youth Yusuf Hawkins and the assassination of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party, BlackWatch was on the scene.

When Black youth took their rage to Wall Street after the framed-up conviction of two youths in the infamous Central Park Case, BlackWatch was on the scene.

Beaded, braided, black-boot-stomping blackness is the image BlackWatch brings to Black youth.

But more than the image in blackness, they bring Black youth the struggle in blackness.

"We want to continue the path of other revolutionaries and activists before us...and this time we have a tool -- it's called music," declares Funkinlesson Brother J of X-Clan.

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: THE OVERSEER PROFESSOR X, THE ARCHITECT TRACTITIONER PARADISE, THE GRAND VERBALIZER FUNKIN-LESSON BROTHER J, THE RHYTHM PROVIDER SUGAR SHAFT.

Today's Youth... TOMORROW'S REVOLUTION!

BY LAVERN McDONALD

Black Youth Reclaim Malcolm's Legacy

On August 31, 1989, Black and Latino youth, 10,000 strong, stormed the Brooklyn Bridge -- tying up traffic on New York City's major thoroughfares for hours during the height of the evening rush-hour -- in an act of outrage against a system which set the groundwork for the killing of 16-year-old African-American youth Yusuf Hawkins at the hands of white Italian youths only a week prior.

Out of that act of civil disturbance was born the Black Consciousness Movement.

While in number the group no longer mirrors the large mass gathered on the bridge, the young men and women of the Black Consciousness Movement have committed themselves wholeheartedly to finding material resolutions to the contradictions facing the colonized masses of Black people in the United States.

The Black Consciousness Movement, recognizing human rights leader Malcolm X as the true architect of the modern-day Black Liberation struggle, has staged an international campaign to save the Audubon Ballroom, the site of Malcolm X's 1965 assassination.

The Ballroom, once the center of Harlem's cultural life, is currently under siege by New York City's political bosses, led by the metropolis' first Black mayor, David N. Dinkins.

Under the guise of expanding the city's economic base, Dinkins plans to parcel out the historically-rich Audubon Ballroom to Columbia University, long renowned as one of the City's major landlords.

On Black Solidarity Day 1990 (November 5th), the Black Consciousness Movement staked a claim on the Audubon Ballroom and for more that six hours, the building was under the control of the black-clad team. The youths relinquished their hold of the building only after Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch, a staunch proponent of the Columbia University deal, signed a document granting the Black Consciousness Movement a formal hearing at City Hall the following day, which was incidentally Election Day.

At that formal meeting, the Movement put Lynch and his political cronies on notice that New York City's Black, Latino and disenfranchised youth were aware of the preferred treatment awarded to the petit bourgeois element and the consistent disrespect paid to the poor, working masses.

Subsequently, the team targeted Housing Preservation and Development Commissioner Felice Machetti as one of the main co-conspirators in the deal to tear down the Audubon Ballroom.

Using sophisticated military surprise tactics, the youths stormed the Commissioner's Manhattan office to deliver personally a demand for the termination of the Columbia University deal and the relinquishing of the Ballroom to a coalition which sprung up out of the Save the Audubon campaign.

The Black Consciousness Movement has engaged the help of college students and other youths internationally who recognize Malcolm X as the foremost advocate for Black Liberation.

In addition to raising mass consciousness around the Audubon issue, the young people are primary members of the African-American Coalition Against U.S. Intervention.

Recognizing that under the U.S.'s neocolonialist bent, Blacks, Latinos and other disenfranchised people are subject to being treated as property of the government--in that their human rights are suspended at a whim -- the Movement has taken the position that the masses of people should not participate in a war orchestrated to benefit the rich upper class.

Their efforts to raise the issue that poor people should wage war within the United States for equal access to basic resources and not in the Persian Gulf for the rich have spanned a creative gorge.

Flyers in hand, small groups of the Movement members boarded New York City's subways, claimed street corners and participated in group meetings (harnessing radio airways) to spread their simple message: no war in the Middle East -- our war is at home for jobs, housing, health care and education.

The Movement organized youth speakouts, rallies, group discussions, demonstrations and a massive rap concert -- all designed to provide a forum for the anti-intervention message.

Among the everyday tactics employed by the Movement to raise consciousness among the City's Black and Latino youth are lecture series featuring strategists and tacticians with a history of working with the liberation struggle; intimate group meetings to engage in philosophical exchange with other youth; rallies in major shopping districts and/or gathering places; demonstrations; group study sessions; and various cultural programs showcasing the talents of grassroots performers.

According to Alkamal, a 25-year-old member of the group, the Black Consciousness Movement exists "to provide a viable alternative to young people frustrated with the drug culture and the all-engulfing materialism that dominates the lives of youth today".

"The young people we reach understand the need for a new society and they are willing to engage in the intellectual, physical and spiritual struggle necessary to create the primary component of that new society -- the new individual," he said.

EDITORIAL

Global Changes and Their Impact on Revolutionary Movements

ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power which places all authority, wealth and arms in the hands of the People"

ATM Editorial Board reprints a speech delivered at a Conference of Revolutionaries and Anti-Imperialists, held in Libya, 1990

Distinguished members of the Green World Institute:
Jamahiriyan Brothers, Invited Guests and Comrades,

We, representing the forty million captive Africans in America struggling to be free in the twentieth century, are a colonized nation of kidnapped Africans, the single largest nation of oppressed Africans in the world, dislocated from our mother homeland, Africa. We are an African people, struggling under the brutal clutches of U.S. racism, capitalism, imperialism and zionism.

Through warfare, trickery, banditry and kidnapping, between ten to a hundred million captive Africans were shipped to the Americas. This rape and pillage of our people's humanity extended from 1445 to 1870; during the crossing of the Atlantic and the "Middle Passage", 15% to 20% died. A new political and economic world order was in the making, the Americas!

The inception of our people's oppressive dehumanization began with atrocities of war; European slavery, the underdevelopment of Africa and the trading of captive slaves, all laid the basis for the expansion of European capitalism. Africans' labor, blood, flesh, tears and broken backs built America. Thus began the global exploits of European capitalism to change the course of human history and political economy.

Despite these wretched assaults against our people, our culture and psychological being survived. Four hundred years later we now represent the largest struggling oppressed nation inside the USA. Today, the aspirations of our people are only one, to be free from oppression, and live to have a decent quality of life free of capitalist exploitation, racism, Zionism and imperialism. As a result of our struggle to survive we have steeled our constitution with a will to win our liberation by any means necessary.

This struggle began immediately with our first contact with slave traders, white slave masters and white settlers. This struggle has been protracted, having many setbacks, leaps and betrayals, but it has yet to cease and will never die because African people wherever they are, will ultimately rise up to be liberated.

As we stand before you today, we can unequivocally say to you that Africans in America want Revolution, and we will defeat the paper tiger because we recognize our strategic advantage and historical Pan-African international responsibility. We are within the belly of the beast; we know this beast all too well, and we know that in reality he will not be able to defend against a protracted people's war for national liberation and socialism on many fronts worldwide.

With the support of our Native American brothers, Africans, and our natural allies from the Americas, we believe we are standing on the threshold of a great leap forward. The indigenous Africans, Indians, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Nicaraguans and all other people of color in the Americas have the same enemy and must unite to fight imperialism to its death. It is for the future of our own humanity and the salvation of our children.

The objective and subjective conditions in the South are rapidly growing with oppressed people's consciousness rising and rejecting all illusions of bourgeois democracy along with constant mass street resistance with slogans of *"No Justice, No Peace," "On Towards the General Strike," "Self-determination and Self-defense for the Black Nation," "Death to Capitalism," "Too Black, Too Strong," "Today's Youth, Tomorrow's Revolution", and "Freedom or Death."*

It is from this historical and present day reality that we humbly accept this honor to speak to such a historical gathering. I am a revolutionary, ex-political prisoner, and one of the many growing numbers of young revolutionaries in America who are committed to fighting and defeating imperialism at home and abroad. Our movement, the December 12th Movement, a popular mass pre-liberation front movement, is actively organizing the masses of Africans and Third World peoples to resist all forms of racism and imperialism. Our tactics are to use popular political conscious raising street actions to arm the masses politically with ideological clarity and concrete political goals towards self-determination and national liberation.

As revolutionaries we all have a common enemy, imperialism; a common historical destiny, liberation and the fight to change the objective conditions that are oppressing our people and threatening Third World peoples' humanity. The use of military might and political deception to wage wars against all oppressed people and the toiling masses worldwide must be challenged. Having a world view with critical analysis on the role of the principal players, that being imperialism and Zionism, must be exposed and vigorously encircled. All strategic allies fighting against imperialist aggression must unite. Western Imperialism, racism, and Zionism are rapidly moving throughout the Third World to gain hegemony politically and militarily. Its goal is simple: greed, world power, world domination, destabilization of economies and to create the retrogressive trends for counter-revolution. The motivation is economic in seizing new markets for imperialist expansion. History will repeat itself if the Third World fails to respond collectively.

The Berlin crisis and the balkanisation of Africa as an instrument of imperialism was a conspiracy. In the first World War, the West lied to the Arab world promising them independence and then double crossing them with imperial mandates. This laid the basis for Arab disunity and the creation of the state of Israel.

Israel's existence is a fundamental contradiction to just struggles, and just revolutions world wide.

Modern day, T.E. Lawrence of Arabia, George Bush has the same ambitions, carving up the Middle East for the imperialists. We now live in the era of consolidated imperialist wars for new markets. The tactics are always the same: divide, conquer and attempt to stop the motive forces of history, revolutions by the dispossessed and the toiling masses. The Persian Gulf crisis today is not a different strategy or new tactic.

Enough is enough, the masses make history and oppressed masses must call for a worldwide summit, like the Bangdung conference to declare that once and for all imperialism must be crushed for the protection of the sovereignty of all oppressed nations and socialist revolutions. Revolutionaries and all socialists must have their homeland. This is our duty in deeds, not mere words.

Comrades, the struggle for true socialist democracy in Eastern Europe is far from over. A new stage of revolutionary working class struggle will inevitably evolve; a new leadership will be born under the genuine dictatorship of the true proletariat. International capitalism is dying and in utter crisis.

Capitalism cannot and will not meet the social needs of the working masses. This is antithetical to the principles of capitalism; private property, profits and inflated financial markets, money markets. Equal opportunities for the working masses to work and enjoy the basic social needs of health care, housing, full employment, cannot co-exist under a political economy that over-produces commodities as a substitute for a decent equality of life. The human potential for production and the development of human resources will continue to go unmet.

So my brothers and comrades conditions are ripe for worldwide true socialist revolutions. We must proceed with a dialectical consciousness and combativeness that is relentless and uncompromising. Africans in the U.S. believe we have a major role; we stand shoulder to shoulder with all revolutionary and progressive movements.

In conclusion, as revolutionaries, we must remain steadfast to our principles; there are only two sides, imperialism or socialism; for the people's revolution or against revolution; bourgeois democracy or popular socialist democracy; combat on all fronts or capitulation; socialism or capitalism; worldwide struggle for socialism or complicity with world wide imperialism - Freedom for all oppressed and progressive movements or death. We must choose, because if not, the enemy will.

To the revolutionary thinker, teacher and leader, Colonel Muammar Al-Qathafi, we love you. To the socialist people's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Long Live The Revolution.

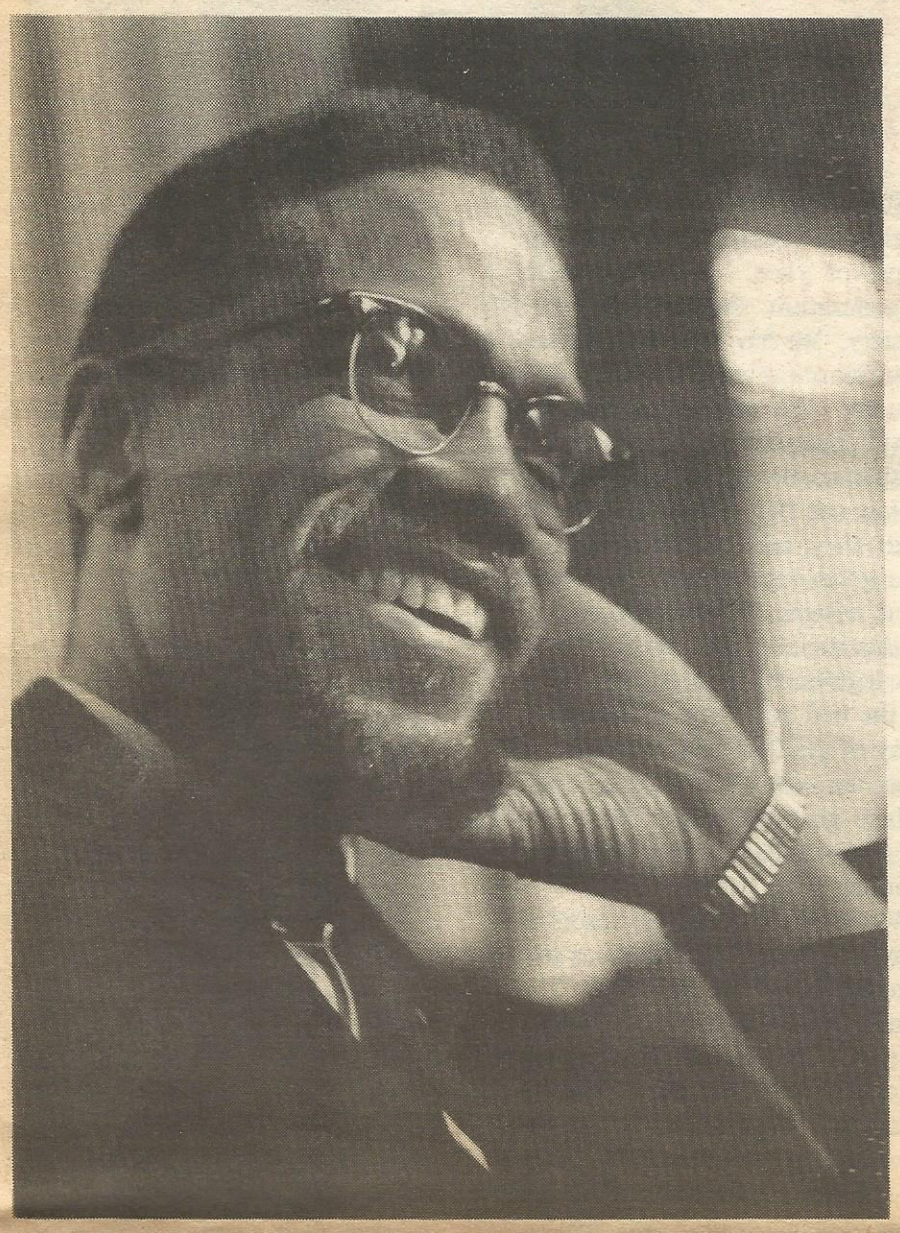
In the words of our great teacher and leader, Malcolm X, father of the Black Revolution in America: "America is the Black Man's Battleground, and we will be free, by any means necessary."

Arm the Masses,

Freedom or Death,

Straight Ahead.

Malcolm X's Vision Steers Black Liberation Movement...



Speech delivered by Omowale Clay to Symposium: Malcolm X Speaks in the 1990s, Havana, Cuba, 1990

The Black Nation Is... Finishing Malcolm's Legacy

** Black youth openly slain in the streets, the victims of white sheets and baseball bats, 38 revolvers and night sticks, crack/cocaine and 9 mms, public schools and white supremacy.*

** Health Care so dangerous, that in spite of medical marvels being within every child's eyesight, death is as quick and frequent as in the most oppressed nations.*

** Economic terrorism - total! Often spearheaded by the CIA. Inspired plots to use third world merchants to take over and disrupt local Black economic life as a form of constant economic destabilization.*

** High rise luxury housing leaps into the skies while tens of thousands of homeless fill the streets and underground subway tunnels.*

I offer you America! The birth place and training ground of one of the world's great Freedom Fighters, Malcolm X, and still where his ideas shake the very foundations of imperialism. Ideas which have stood the test of time, and some of which we find at the very heart of our successes and short-comings in waging a life and death struggle against American imperialism.

Standards of Leadership

Carpenters are required for the construction of a house, and the quality of this structure is determined by the skill, dedication, and care contributed by each worker. So it is with building a liberation movement. It is only as sound as the quality of the revolutionaries who build it, and their organic relationship to the masses of people, its foundation.

Malcolm X's sound morals and personal integrity are the foundation on which he built his political philosophy, and for which we gravitated to him.

When we discuss morals, we do not mean external, mystical ideas falling from the sky, but an appreciation and truly earnest desire to seek out in oneself the selflessness, genuine respect and love for the people, that steers you clear of the pitfalls that reactionary imperialist culture constantly places at your feet.

It was this purity of heart and principles which made Malcolm such a fearsome foe of imperialism.

Malcolm X truly represented that quality we see in great revolutionaries, like Che Guevera and Amilcar Cabral, which ties their social being to the needs of the revolution, with untold sacrifice.

We have consistently seen that the struggle for self-determination and human rights for the Black Nation in America is often crippled by the internal moral decay of its leadership. A phenomena with its material base in the close proximity of our nation to imperialism's center for hundreds of years.

It is in this sense we greatly appreciate the correct moral fabric of Malcolm X's social being. His transformation from a social outcast and parasite, to a freedom fighter, was not simply a change in style of press conference or his speeches or debates, but tied directly to Malcolm's willingness to consciously redirect and demand of himself the highest standard of integrity.

It was this transformation and constant discipline that allowed Malcolm to be as ruthlessly critical of himself as he was of others, witnessed by his painful yet necessary break with the Black Muslims and one of his main teachers, Elijah Muhammad.

It was also this quality of integrity that fostered in Malcolm the boldness to go against the tide and be audacious, which Adam Clayton Powell defined as a necessary quality of Black leadership.

These qualities of principled political and personal integrity, boldness of action, and self-criticism were captured in Malcolm's essence, taught to us in a meaningful and concrete way, and continue to still challenge us everyday.

Self-Determination

Malcolm X continued the historical debate within the Black Liberation Movement to define that struggle as a fight for National Liberation (self-determination). Malcolm's desire to condemn the U.S. before the world body (U.N.) of nations, to internationalize our struggle, was not only an indication of his political development, but a concrete desire to raise the thinking of Black people from the narrow confines of civil rights to human rights, thus creating the historical link between our objective conditions of national oppression and the subjective consciousness of our plight.

Malcolm X was assassinated at the peak of the Black liberation Movement's need to philosophically and ideologically break with the narrow imperialist's straight jacket within which we were intellectually pursuing the strategic aims of our movement. To push us mentally into the worldwide struggle against imperialism, and lay before us the immense forces and concrete allies at our side, in daring to challenge America for our freedom.

In this decade of the 90s, which we have declared "the decade of Malcolm X", we as Black people are challenged to establish this indisputable desire and strategic aim of our struggle, self-determination.

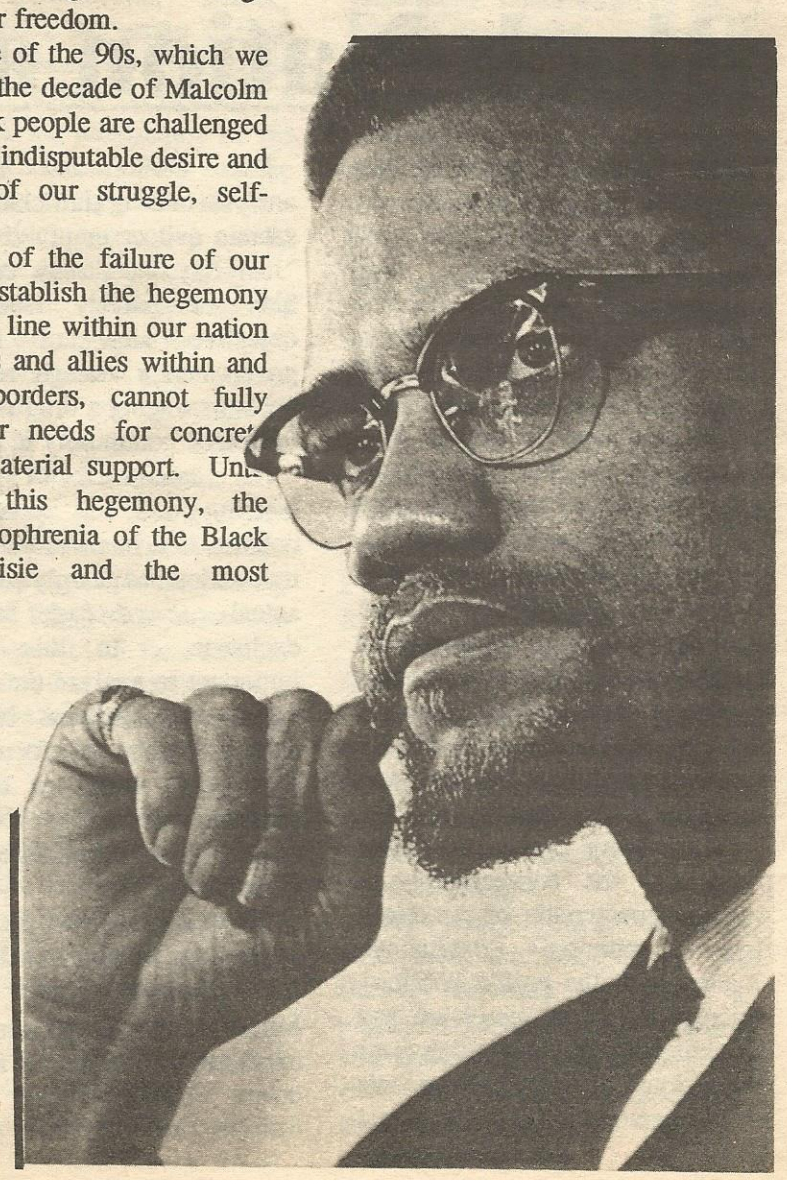
It is because of the failure of our movement to establish the hegemony of this political line within our nation that our friends and allies within and without our borders, cannot fully respond to our needs for concrete political and material support. Until we establish this hegemony, the unbridled schizophrenia of the Black petty bourgeoisie and the most reactionary elements within our nation will continue to hold sway in divorcing our legitimate struggle of human rights and self-determination from the worldwide struggle for independence and freedom. Without the establishment of our right to self-determination, our political prisoners and prisoners of war will continue to be seen at worse as mere criminals and at best as extremists, by our nation and in the international community.

The burden, the challenge to establish our right to self-determination is the key challenge of the 90's for the Black Liberation Movement. Malcolm X in his last year with us was very instructive in pointing to the need for the Black Liberation Movement to fight on every front within our nation, to gain leadership in every key battle for justice and democracy, pointing out the need to transform the context of struggle to an international fight for the legitimacy of our people to be self-determining. To expose every plot, every conspiracy as the concrete plan it is to confuse and confine our struggle to mainly the electoral arena, the fight for jobs, the fight for merely better relations between the oppressor nation and its subjects.

We see the independence of the Black nation as the key to freedom and socialism in America. As we all know, internationalism is expressed nationally in the fight for independence and defeat of imperialism. Before there can be the socialist man and woman, there must first be the clarity of that individual's equality and national expression and contribution to the world whole.

The Black nation is fighting as Malcolm said, "To find its place in the sun." To contribute its history, identity, and culture to the world community. To perhaps make the greatest contribution of all, the final nail in imperialism's coffin.

The Black Nation Is!



Harriet Tubman

"A RAILROAD OF RESISTANCE"

Filiberto Ojeda Rios is a Puerto Rican nationalist, a founding member of Los Macheteros, a patriotic clandestine organization which has claimed responsibility for numerous attacks on U.S. military and governmental installations. Following a massive FBI invasion of Puerto Rico on August 30th, 1985, Filiberto and 14 other independentistas were charged with conspiracy. He was held without bail for over 3 years awaiting trial. On September 23, 1990, Filiberto resumed his work in clandestinity, despite an electronic monitoring device attached to his ankle. The following is a communique issued shortly thereafter.

Los Macheteros Message to the People

Puerto Rican compatriots:

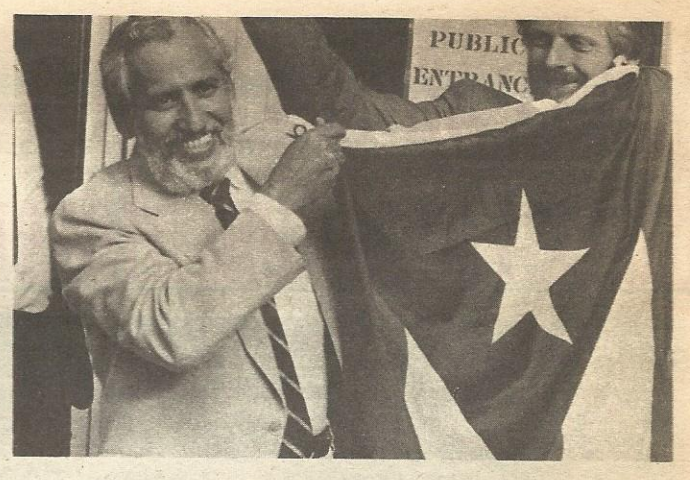
Twelve years ago, when our organization, the Ejercito Popular Boricua, Los Macheteros, first publicly expressed itself, we took an oath. We swore that we would never lie to the people or attempt to manipulate their opinion with opportunistic, false or deceptive statements. Today we renew that oath.

On this solemn date which marks the cry of rebellion and struggle of our people in pursuit of their independence and liberation, we have taken a step that responds to the grave situation which our people are facing. Companeros Filiberto Ojeda Rios and Luis Alfredo Colon Osorio have returned to what has been their fundamental means of struggle during the last two decades, the struggle from clandestinity. This decision responds to the cry of our people, who understand that it is the effort and duty of every patriot is to be united with the people in moments when they are confronting a historic moment of supreme definition.

In the same manner, this decision responds to the policy of the Ejercito Boricua Macheteros. It is a policy of preparing ourselves to develop a patriotic struggle designed to advance our process of liberation and social justice, united with all our people.

Los Macheteros have been brutally victimized by the government of the United States for having assumed a patriotic and militant posture in defense of our rights. They, with the power they have to distort the truth, have done everything possible to make our people and the international community believe that those who struggle for the liberty of our country are criminals and terrorists.

The truth is that the criminals and terrorists are them, not us. We never invaded their territory, nor subjected their people to the indignity of slavery; nor tried to destroy their culture, or kill their youth in dirty wars. We never used their women and all their people as guinea pigs for experiments. We never contaminated their environment, nor created a state of dependency or a sense that without us they could do nothing, nor deprived their people of all sense of self-respect. We do not control their immigration, their free commerce, their communications; we do not formulate repressive policies nor attempt to steal their natural resources or liquidate them as a people, creating divisions in the very bosom of the North American family.



Filiberto Ojeda Rios

Still less have we introduced extremely corrupt norms into their way of life, nor the moral degeneration which corrodes society. We have never introduced rampant crime and drugs into their country. The only truth is that they have committed all these crimes against us, not we against them.

How can they so distort the truth until they make themselves look like good guys and we, who have done nothing but defend ourselves against their aggressions and defend our legitimate rights, are presented as the bad guys? It is the classic story of the thief who escapes, and who, to cover his escape, cries, "There goes the thief!" They are the criminals! They are the terrorists!

Why have we opted to resort to clandestinity and continue our just struggle from this position? The primary reason is that all those who struggle for social justice and independence have been brutally repressed. The mere defense of our most legitimate interests is used by the colonial powers to repress us, to open files and lists of subversives, subject us to state terrorism and the fabrication of cases designed to put us in jail.

Our people, today more than ever, suffer inhuman conditions: drugs, alcoholism, criminality and corruption drown us in spiritual misery and moral decadence; our ecological balance is being destroyed and our environment poisoned; once again the shadow of death looms over us as a consequence of the threat of yet another war that will devour our youth; the grave economic crisis reduces the reach of our salaries and we hardly manage to pay our debts and survive.

On top of it all, the government of the United States, with the ex-director of the CIA and now President of the United States at its head, Mr. George Bush, tries to impose on our people his hegemonic policy and to continue his control and dominion over our people and soil.

For these purposes, and in order to counteract the effect of the revolutionary struggle developed by Los Macheteros and other patriotic organizations in the country, they have invented strategies that divide our people even more and which, in the end, constitute a sophisticated farce which is all the more shameful for its sophistication.

This is the disgraceful plebiscite. Its great lie is clearly evidenced in the attempt to fool our people and the international community by conducting a plebiscite designed by them in clear violation of international law. We are in favor of a plebiscite. But it must be a plebiscite with a transfer of powers. We will struggle for this transfer of

Continued page 11

Black Nation at War

Turning the Corner in the War on Drugs?

An Analysis of the U.S. Government's War Against the Black Community

Dead Black bodies hit the pavement, not missing a beat; drug money explosion in Panama, after the invasion and Noriega in jail; the police throw away their six shooters for 15 shot 9 mm's and the U.S. government claims they've turned the corner in the war on drugs. A claim which must be exposed by an analysis of the U.S. vested strategic interest in keeping drugs alive. A claim whose words hit with the impact of standing down wind from the rear end of a donkey.

The economic law of maximum profit and the concentration of wealth characteristic of American finance monopoly capitalism, coupled with the political/military strategy of violent repression and destabilization of the working class and national liberation movements are all operative in the international drug trade.

The sterile and misleading analysis of drug trafficking as some satanic evil or empty slogans like "Just Say No", only consciously hide or naively sidetrack an objective view of the U.S. government's strategic and tactical goals in waging a drug war against the Black community in particular.

The emergence of electronic banking and its application to national and international financial transaction has sharply curtailed the actual use of cash money for exchange. In this light its important to analyze the 60 billion dollar drug business beyond its dollar values, and focus on the reality that this huge capitalistic business venture is the largest source of huge quantities of cash money.

Recent events over the last few years have demonstrated how the U.S. government has used its influence, access, and direct control of these cash reserves to finance covert political and military activities, e.g., Panama's drug trade and maintenace of President Manuel Noreiga on the CIA's secret payroll; the conspiratorial relationship between the cocaine cowboys of South America, contra armies in Nicaragua and U.S. drug dealers like U.S. Colonel Oliver North and police officers of NYC's 77th Precinct police station; and the hiring and maintenance of a large network of snitches and agents on a local, national and internal level.

The U.S. government has used an elaborate disinformation campaign of lies and half truths to create itself an image of fighting drugs. This facade has allowed the government to utilize the drug trade as a basis to effectively increase and upgrade military weapons and equipment, while carrying on paramilitary training directly inside the Black community. In Los Angeles, California, recently the Black people had to look up to witness police forces dropping from the skies on ropes from helicopters during a training exercise.

Coupled with the above, violent drug warfare in the streets, carried on with new deadly and very expensive weapons, (non-existent and outside the control of the Black community a few years ago), has established a state of terror, which has actually created the conditions for some people, and more disgracefully a few Black leaders, to call for bringing the National Guard, i.e., the Army, into the community while simultaneously accepting the fascistic police raids, lawlessness, and murders.

The most sinister aspect of this war is the targeting of young Black men for death, addiction or jail, i.e., genocide.

The U.S. government has carefully weaved a propaganda campaign that zeroes in on young Black men being the bulls-eye of their mythical drug war. A war that actually uses drugs as a basis to bring "brothers" under attack. This is clearly seen by the fact that the white middle-class is the biggest user of cocaine, but the highly addictive and medically fatal crack cocaine is concentrated primarily in

Continued page 11

Africans and World Revolution

The African Revolution is fundamental to transforming the quality of life for Africans on the Continent, in the diaspora, and the masses worldwide, because it is in Africa that Imperialism, colonialism, and Zionism have hatched their most insidious schemes; and where it will meet its ultimate defeat. This section of ATM will reflect the current ongoing struggles of African people.

We begin with some thoughts and political views of African warriors past and current.

Amilcar Cabral

National Liberation and Culture
February 20, 1970; Syracuse, NY

When Goebbels, the brain behind Nazi propaganda, heard culture being discussed, he brought out his revolver. That shows that the Nazis--who were and are the most tragic expression of imperialism and of its thirst for domination--even if they were all degenerates like Hitler, had a clear idea of the value of culture as a factor of resistance to foreign domination.

History teaches us that, in certain circumstances, it is very easy for the foreigner to impose his domination on a people. But it also teaches us that, whatever may be the material aspects of this domination, it can be maintained only by the permanent, organized repression of the cultural life of the people concerned. Implantation of foreign domination can be assured definitely only by physical liquidation of a significant part of the dominated population.

In fact, to take up arms to dominate a people is, above all, to take up arms to destroy, or at least to neutralize, to paralyze, its cultural life. For, with a strong indigenous cultural life, foreign domination cannot be sure of its perpetuation.

Connecting the Struggles: an informal talk with Black Americans
October 20, 1972, New York City

I am bringing to you--our African brothers and sisters of the United States--the fraternal salutations of our people in assuring you we are very conscious that all in this life concerning you also concerns us. If we do not always pronounce words that clearly show this, it doesn't mean that we are not conscious of it. It is a reality and considering that the world is being made smaller each day all people are conscious of this fact.

Naturally if you ask me between brothers and comrades what I prefer--if we are brothers it is not our fault or our responsibility. But if we are comrades, it is a political engagement. Naturally we like our brothers but in our conception it is better to be a brother *and* a comrade. We like our brothers very much, but we think that if we are brothers we have to realize the responsibility of this fact and take clear positions about our problems in order to see if beyond this condition of brothers, we are also comrades. This is very important to us.

We try to understand your situation in this country. You can be sure that we realize the difficulties you face, the problems you have and your feelings, your revolts, and also your hopes. We think that our fighting for Africa against colonialism and imperialism is a proof of understanding of your problems in this continent. Naturally the inverse is also true. All the achievements toward the solution of your problems here are real contributions to our own struggle. And we are very encouraged in our struggle by the fact that each day more of the African people born in America become conscious of their responsibilities to the struggle in Africa.

Does that mean you have to all leave here and go fight in Africa? We do not believe so. That is not being realistic in our opinion. History is a very strong chain. We have to accept the limits of history but not the limits imposed by the societies where we are living. There is a difference. We think that all you can do here to develop your own conditions in the sense of progress, in the sense of history and in the sense of the total realization of your aspirations as human beings is a contribution for us. It is also a contribution for you to never forget that you are Africans.

****

In combatting racism we don't make progress if we combat the people themselves. We have to combat the causes of racism. If a bandit comes in my house and I have a gun I can not shoot the shadow of this bandit. I have to shoot the bandit. Many people lose energy and effort, and make sacrifices combatting the shadow. If we can not change the light that is one cause of the shadow, we can at least change the body. It is important to avoid confusion between the shadow and the body that projects the shadow. We are encouraged by the fact that each day more of our people, here and in Africa, realize this reality. This reinforces our confidence in our final victory.

Interview
September 1968

We have as a basic principle the defence of just causes. We are in favor of justice, human progress, the freedom of the people. On this basis we believe that the creation of Israel, carried out by the imperialist states to maintain their domination in the Middle East, was artificial and aimed at the creation of problems in that very important region of the world. This is our position: the Jewish people have lived in different countries of the world. We lament profoundly what the Nazis did to the Jewish people, that Hitler and his lackeys destroyed almost six million during the last World War. But we do not accept that this gives them the right to occupy a part of the Arab nation. We believe that the people of Palestine have a right to their homeland. We therefore think that all the measures taken by the Arab peoples, by the Arab nation, to recover the Palestinian Arab homeland are justified.

Kwame Nkrumah

Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare
1968

The African "nations" of today, created artificially by foreigners for their own purposes, neither originate from ancient African civilization, nor do they fit in with our African way of life or habits of exchange. They are not even, for the most part, economically viable. Yet they continue to struggle on, each one separately, in a pathetic and hopeless attempt to make progress, while the real obstacle to their development, imperialism, mainly in its neo-colonialist stage, is operating on a Pan-African scale. Already, huge zones of Africa have been integrated economically in the exclusive interest of international finance capital. A study of the organization and workings of most of the large trading firms, mining trusts and industrial cartels operating in Africa shows that they all function directly or indirectly on a continental scale. Many of them form part of a general network spreading over several continents.

This monopolistic system of exploitation is the direct outcome of prolonged capitalist practice, the experience being that extended and unified industrial, commercial or mining units are less costly to maintain, are more efficient, and produce higher profits.

Nelson Mandela

The Struggle is My Life
June 26, 1961; South Africa

Which African does not burn with indignation when thousands of your people are sent to gaol [jail] every month under the cruel pass laws? Why should we continue carrying these badges of slavery? Non-collaboration is a dynamic weapon. We must refuse. We must use it to send this government to the grave. It must be used vigorously and without delay. The entire resources of the Black people must be mobilized to withdraw all co-operation with the Nationalist government. Various forms of industrial and economic action will be employed to undermine the already tottering economy of the country. We will call upon the international bodies to expel South Africa and upon nations of the world to sever economic and diplomatic relations with the country.

I am informed that a warrant for my arrest has been issued, and that the police are looking for me. The National Action Council has given full and serious consideration to this question, and has sought the advice of many trusted friends and bodies and they have advised me not to surrender myself. I have accepted this advice, and will not give myself up to a government I do not recognize.

Umkhonto we Sizwe Manifesto
December 16, 1961

The government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto we Sizwe mark a break with that past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist government, which has rejected every peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past eighteen months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful, non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces -- enlarging and rearming its armed forces and drawing the white civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs -- for full scale military actions against the people. The Nationalist government has chosen the course of force and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did at Sharpeville.

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation!

HAITI UPDATE...

VIV LAVALAS "Movement of The People"

BY ABDUL WAHID CUSH

In the Spirit of Dessalines!

"Lavalas" - reflects the Haitian masses desire for independence. It expresses their will to win. Lavalas, the flood, is in fact, the movement of the Haitian masses toward liberation from centuries of repression and exploitation by dictators and imperialist bloodsuckers.

By the sweeping numbers in support of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Haiti's first democratic election on December 16, the Haitian masses made history. Popular priest Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide captured the minds and hearts of the oppressed masses, and they poured out in a massive flood of humanity to change the course of their future.

President-elect Aristide, described as an anti-imperialist, who speaks and fights for the impoverished majority of Haiti, will officially take office on February 7th, 1991. There were no doubts in the outcome of the election; even before the voting results were tallied and made public, tens of thousands of people took to the streets of places like Port-au-Prince in victory.

Meanwhile, the dreaded reactionary Tonton Macoute thugs had made public threats to disrupt and take control of the Haitian nation if Aristide was elected. Elected he was, to say the least; Aristide received nearly 70% of the nation's votes. This major victory did not occur without difficulties; there were many. In some neighborhoods ballots were delivered to polling places late, up to 6 hours in some instances. Numerous fraud attempts were reported and attempts to intimidate people into voting for other candidates, but these gang leaders were arrested.

In spite of the many attempts to disrupt and prevent Haiti's first free election---Lavalas prevailed. President-elect Aristide's closest challenger, former World Bank economist Marc Bazin, received only 10-12% of the vote; while the other minor challengers received roughly 18% divided between the 9 of them.

Roger Lafontant, head of the hated, dreaded Tonton Macoutes under former dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier made good on his threat to disrupt Haiti's first election by staging a coup. Under the direction of Lafontant, his hatchetmen stormed the Presidential Place and placed Provisional President Ertha Pascal Trouillot under arrest.

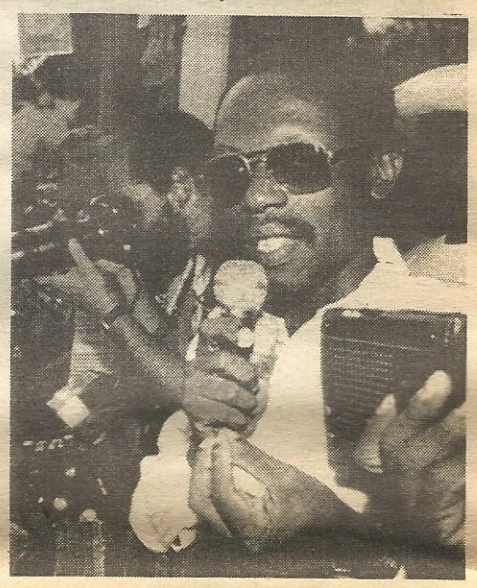
After hours of fighting, the Haitian Army overran the Place, capturing Lafontant and his hatchetmen, and rescued President Ertha Trouillot. Upon her rescue she vowed to remain on in office until President-elect Aristide officially take office on February 7th.

Lavalas reflects the masses desire and will to struggle for self-determination against dictators and foreign domination by imperialist. Aristide's call for a Lavalas (great flood) of principle, progressive change had became the order of the day for millions of Haitians.

Here in the United States of Amerikkka, Haitians response to "Lavalas" was undeniably supportive. When news of the aborted coup spread throughout the Haitian community here in New York, their response was swift. Tens of thousands of Haitian nationalists demonstrated at the United Nations, expressing their outrage against Lafontant and the Macoutes; and their firm commitment and support for Aristide.

Lavalas, as popular as it has become amongst the Haitian masses, in essence is not a new concept. Although it can be described as a new phenomenon in Haiti, Lavalas is as old as time, and equally as common as struggle. Its principle is universally rooted in people's desire and right to be free and self-determined.

No concept, no struggle or no individual develops out of a vacuum. Aristide comes from the people and he reflects their goals and aspirations. Lavalas, also comes from the people. What it reflects is the will of the people and their fundamental desire to be free, and their concrete struggle against imperialism. It is the people who make revolution and change the course of history.

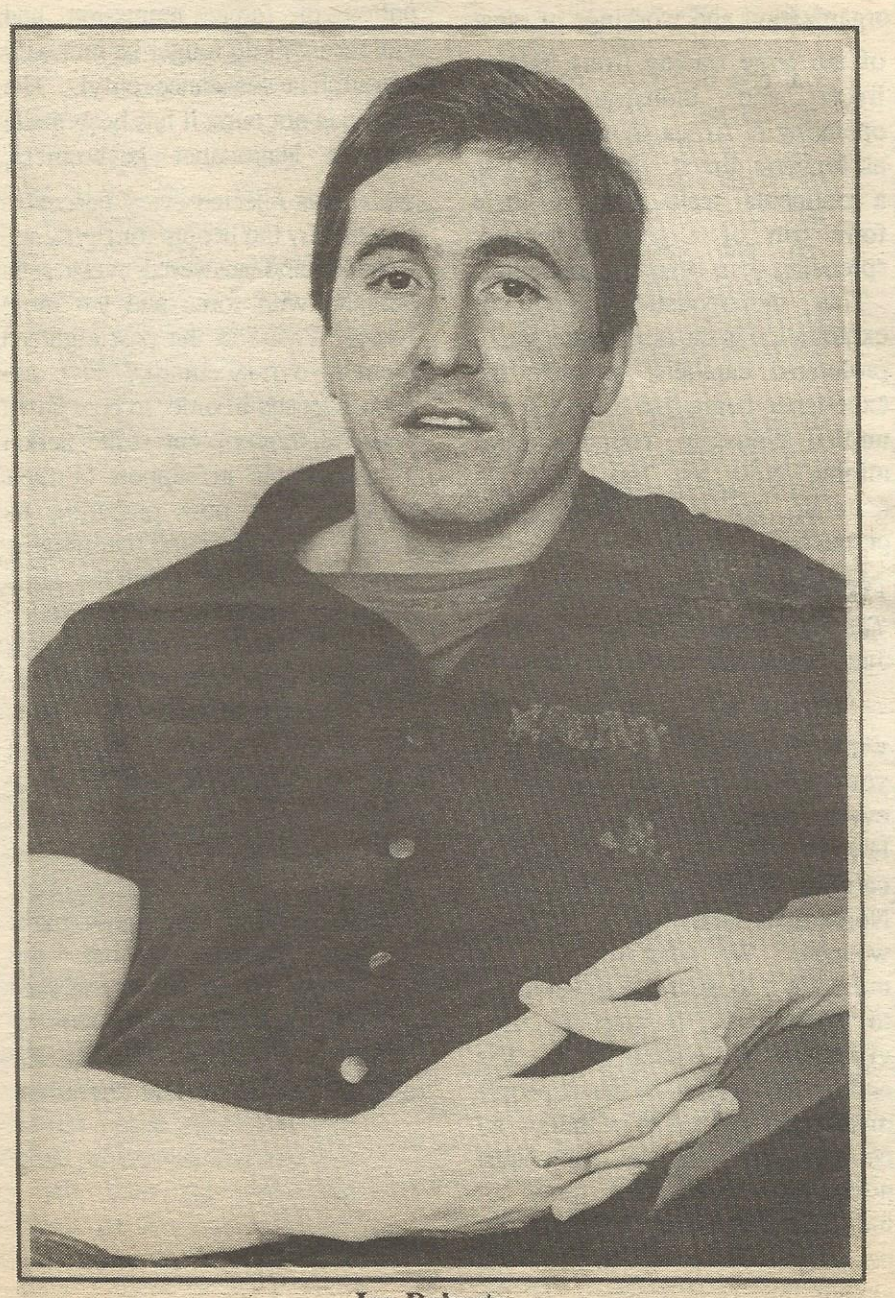


Jean-Bertrand Aristide
Speaks to the Haitian Masses

FOCUS: IRELAND

Dare to Struggle "Anti-Imperialist Struggles Around the World"

BY ABDUL WAHID CUSH



Joe Doherty

Resistance and struggle came at an early age for Joseph Patrick Thomas Doherty. As most of the youth of his generation, Joe experienced brutal repression and exploitation at the hands of the British imperialists. By the time he was 17, he was arrested under the "Special Powers Acts".

This act legally instituted internment, suspended autopsies and habeas corpus, and gave the British imperialists the right to arrest and detain anyone without charges. Joe was detained for 5 1/2 months without being charged with a crime or appearing before a judge. Upon his release, Joe joined the ranks of the Irish Republic Army.

Joe Doherty, an active Irish Republic Army combatant, was captured in 1980 during a battle in Belfast with undercover British Special Air Services Officers. One of the British soldiers was killed during the firefight.

In 1981, Comrade Joe was sentenced to life imprisonment by a juryless "special powers" court. Joe and several of his comrades broke out of the "escape-proof" Crumlin Road Jail in Belfast. He fled to the U.S., where he worked as a construction worker for a while, and later on as a bartender at a place known as Clancy's on Third Avenue; three blocks from the British embassy.

On June 18, 1983, Joe Doherty, 34 years old, was arrested for entering the U.S. without immigration papers. He has been held at the Metropolitan Correctional Center without bail since, and is fighting extradition on a political asylum defense. U.S. District Court Judge John E. Sprizzo denied a request filed by the British for extradition in August 1983, but the U.S. Justice Department appealed the ruling.

Doherty's lawyer, attorney Mary Pike stated, "The implications of this case go far beyond the matter of Ireland. What's at stake here is whether or not the executive branch will be permitted to violate due process and threaten the legal protections of the U.S. Constitution."

Comrade Joe Doherty continues to struggle as he enters his 8th year of confinement.

Dare to Win!

Long Live the IRA!

Los Macheteros: A Message to the People

powers. Otherwise the plebiscite is completely unacceptable as one which is not conducted in freedom and with a totally dependent people. How can they hope to convince anyone that this plebiscite is valid when 65% of our population receives foodstamps, when our education is subjected to their interests; when the means of communication are controlled by them and when mental dependency due to the effects of colonialism is so overwhelming?

The Yankee policy is a dirty, fraudulent policy. It is a policy of war. Using their extraordinarily effective mechanisms of propaganda, they are able to distort the truth and try to make the people believe that white is black and black is white.

This has been the daily bread of the people of our nation for 92 years, with the result that they have managed to artificially divide Puerto Ricans, counting on the collaboration of their house servants who have taken care of their interests and are eager to render them services even when indignity, opportunism and lack of self-respect is the price.

Those back-porch collaborators, those Judases who do everything possible to guarantee that our people feel inferior to those who oppress us, those who for a few pieces of silver sell their conscience and become shameful pawns in the service of perfidious, racist and exploiting masters, will one day have to pay the price of their betrayal.

Because they are conscious of what they do. They know, in the most profound recesses of their consciences, that they are serving the Yankees for a price. And that price is a few crumbs that are shared among those who function as intermediaries in order to permit the government of the United States to wield economic and political control over our country. Even when it means frustrating our independent economic development, the ruin of our farmers, the perennial state of dependency that we suffer, the enormous emotional problems and the lack of self-esteem from which we suffer as a people, our inability to control anything that has to do with guaranteeing our security and development according to our own efforts and keeping us from freely taking in our hands the reins of our destiny.

The government of the United States has done everything possible to prevent us from making contact with our people; it has organized campaigns against us, using unscrupulous people who lend themselves to the sad labor of executing, consciously or unconsciously, the same kind of operations that characterized COINTELPRO and which emanate from the offices of the FBI.

We are certain that the government of the United States and its sinister FBI will repress and harass family members and loved ones of those companeros. They will also begin a witch hunt against all those independentistas who have supported us during the last years.

In response to this, we ask our people to have no fear. They have no right over us, and we must make this clearly known. To our family members, we say that we know they will suffer. But we ask that they understand that the suffering of all Puerto Ricans who suffer as a result of this system so full of injustices obliges us to respond for the future with optimism. We have no doubt that we will triumph. Truth and reason are ours.

Lares, Puerto Rico,
September 23, 1990

Long Live Los Macheteros!
Long Live Free Puerto Rico!
Until Victory, Always!

Ejercito Popular Boricua

Black Nation at War

the Black community and viewed as the real basis of the drug trade.

The building of new prisons only dovetails with the criminalization of the Black community in fighting this so-called drug war.

The increasing polarization of America between the rich and the poor, and its sharpest expression located inside the Black community, gives a clear glimpse of the future class and race battles which will occur. The U.S. government has systematically used the drug trade as a method to undermine the cultural, social and political strength of the Black community to resist. And most importantly to eliminate one of the main resources for our community to fight back, our young Black soldiers.

The Black community in the particular and the Black Nation as a whole must fight to organize its most conscious elements to hit the beaches of Brooklyn, New York; Chicago, Illinois; Los Angeles, California; to move to the front line in Harlem, Watts, etc. To understand how no one will win the war against drugs, except us, fighting its main conveyor, the U.S. government.

ROBERT TAYLOR STATEMENT TO JUDGE ROBERT CARTER
DECEMBER 17, 1990

re-registered the van, returned to Orange County and demanded its return. Apparently the Joint Terrorist Task Force had not expected we would be able to come for the van so quickly and figured that they would have all weekend to work with it. My comrades were stalled for nearly three quarters of an hour after asking for the van. During this time, Detective James Cassidy of the Joint Terrorist Task Force, who was also one of the case agents on our 1985 case, and two other police officers arrived and went to the area where the van was housed. When we were finally allowed to retrieve the van, its interior had been ripped up by the police, who could find nothing illegal and didn't have time to plant anything illegal.

A month later Roger Wareham and two members of the Black Men's Movement Against Crack (BMM) were attacked from behind, arrested and beaten by cops when inquiring about the status of a member who had just been arrested for a traffic violation.

While Roger was being held in a chokehold, Smitty, one of the Black undercover cops who covered our demonstrations ran up to see what was happening. Police officers put their guns to his head and only holstered them when Smitty's white partner told them, "He's one of us."

Because there were 50 to 60 BMM members present at the time, and we were able to initiate a quick community response, the trumped-up felony assault charges Roger was arrested on were reduced to a violation. These are just two examples, there are other instances of "but for" witnesses, community support, geography or some other variable, one of my co-defendants could have been successfully set up and be standing before you today.

My Arrest

I would now like to address the circumstances of my arrest. I was travelling with two BMM members to a camping area in upstate New York to prepare for a weekend retreat of the BMM. Our car was pulled out of a line of vehicles, supposedly for speeding. The State Trooper ran my name through the computer and found no New York driver's license. I had a Connecticut one but had left it at home. The car's papers were all in order, but the Trooper insisted on searching the car and the trunk.

When he opened the trunk he saw a BMM poster of a Black man holding a rifle. He then called for back-up. The three of us were placed under arrest and the officer conducted his third search of the car, outside of our view. This was when one of the weapons was allegedly found. By the time we arrived at State Trooper headquarters, a second, also untraceable weapon had been found. Shortly thereafter, Detective James Cassidy, case agent in the 1985 New York 8 trial showed up at the headquarters. The rest you've heard from my attorney.

On Justice for Black Political Activists

Judge Carter, I have no illusions concerning the question of justice for Black people in the U.S. However you know my history. As someone with a history in the Civil Rights Movement, you also know the extent to which this Government will go to get someone it has targeted as a political dissident. Thus I would hope that a Black man in a position such as yours would not jump to the conclusion that a conviction in a racist, upstate court equals actual guilt of the charges accused of.

I think that your sentencing us to probation and community service in 1986 reflected a view that:

- we were not criminals;
- we were principled and (while you might disagree with our tactics) honestly struggling for the betterment of our community;
- we were a collective;
- the Government, in its conspiratorial rush to get us off the streets, had "overreached;"
- that as a result of this "overreaching," we, our families and associates had suffered tremendous disruptions in both our lives and careers.

None of that has changed. Regardless to whatever you decide, the reality is that the Government conspiracy that first brought us before you in 1984 continues. Their "overreaching" is a political, not merely a legal, one. It is directed at those of us who refuse to quit struggling for our people's human rights, and that is why, five years after my conviction, I am now facing this hearing.

****

Patrice Lumumba

Accra Conference, Ghana
December 1958

In our actions aimed at winning the independence of the Congo, we have repeatedly proclaimed that we are against no one, *but rather are simply against domination, injustices, and abuses, and merely want to free ourselves of the shackles of colonialism and all its consequences.*

These injustices, and the stupid superiority complex that the colonialists make such a display of, are the causes of the drama of the West in Africa, as is clearly evident from the disturbing reports of the other delegates.

Along with this struggle for the liberation waged *with calm and dignity*, our movement *opposes, with every power at its command, the balkanization of national territory under any pretext whatsoever.*

From all the speeces that have preceded ours, something becomes obvious that is, to say the least, odd, and that all colonized peoples have noticed: the proverbial patience and good-heartedness that Africans have given proof of for thousands of years, despite persecutions, extortions, discrimination, segregation, and tortures of every sort.

The winds of freedom currently blowing across all of Africa have not left the Congolese people indifferent. Political awareness, which until very recenty was latent, is now becoming manifest and assuming outward expression, and it will assert itself even more forcefully in the months to come. We are thus assured of the support of the masses and of the success of the efforts we are undertaking.

This is why we passionately cry out with all the delegates:

Down with colonialism and imperialism!

Down with racism and tribalism!

And long live the Congolese nation, long live independent Africa!

In the Spirit of Malcolm X...

Today's Youth Are

Black Youth march to recapture the Audubon Ballroom on February 21, 1990

Tomorrow's Revolution